

L I L B U R N S
G H O S T,

With a Whip in one hand, to scourge
Tyrants out of Authority ; And
Balme in the other, to heal the
Sores of our (as yet)

Corrupt STATE;

Or,

Some of the late dying principles of freedom,
revived, and unvail'd, for the Lovers of Freedom
and Liberty, peace & righteousness to behold.

By one who desires no longer to live
then to serve his Country.



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Lilburns Ghost.

MUST we continue for ever in the Wilderness, and not obtain our Promise, *viz.* the possession of *Canaan*, nor yet return to our Egyptian servitude? Surely a Divine Hand hath kept us from our possession, and made us know the time was not yet come, till the Lord hath cut off the murmuring, self-seeking and perfidious Israelites from amongst us; the same Hand also hath kept the faithful ones from turning to the Egyptian flesh-pots, and forsaking *the Cause of God*, for which we have so long contended. How near we are to our desired Haven, we cannot precisely fathom; or how many of our Civil and Martial Grandees (loaded with the ruines and spoils of the People, and gorged with pride, covetousness, self-seeking, and all manner of filthiness, which can in no wise enter the promised Land) must be first thrown by, before we come to enjoy our promised and much desired possession, time will shortly discover.

The Lord hath in some measure returned to our Camp, and with a strong hand hath thrown down the Mighty from his Throne, overthrown his Chariots, and put a Bit in the mouth of his unruly and pampered horses; and hath raised a spirit among the people, to cry up *the Cause of God*, and the liberties of the People; both which to our great grief and sorrow, had like to have been (violently and barbarously) buried alive at *White hall*.

Renze your selves, O ye Free-born people of *England*, and make it appear that *de jure*, the Original of all just Power

and Government, is and ought to be in you. Be no longer cheated of your right, nor let the Parliament and Army saddle you with slavery. The Scripture clears the point, that you are the Original of all power: the Apostle *Peter* calls it, *The Ordinance of Man*. When the murmuring Israelites cried out for a King, God bid *Samuel* *hearken to their voice*; as if he should have said, Let them make use of their natural Rights, in making choice of the form of Government: and after God had nominated the person, he left the confirmation and ratification of the Government to the people, to shew that the Right was in them, and to that end, *Samuel* calls them together, and with shouts and acclamations they proclaim him King: an evident Testimony that the validity of the Government depended wholly upon the peoples consent and confirmation. And indeed, the acts of all Tyrants and Urrpers do evidence the same; who to make their Actions as just as they can, do alwayes endeavour the consent and ratification of the people, and to enter into some compact with them, and to establish themselves with a shew of Legality; which if seriously considered, is a manifest confession of what I here affirm.

I shall insist no longer upon this subject, for I hope we may take it for granted on all sides, that the Original of all just power is in the people; but proceed to the removal of all such blocks which have lain in the peoples way, and hindered them of the possession of their just rights and Liberties.

1. The first foundation of Tyranny, and hinderance of the peoples just rights, is the division of a State into Ecclesiastical and Civil. It is true, the Commonwealth of Israel was thus constituted by God himself: but to say that there is the least ground or reason for such a division under the Gospel, or for congregating national Churches, to be drawn from the Scripture, is more then the Learnedst or Gravest of the Orthodoxal train can produce. It is clear that Christ came to put an end to the administration of the Jewish form, and to take away the pale which confined the Church to a par-

particular nation, that all nations might be taken into the Church, I mean here and there a few, whom the Lord should chuse: his Church now is not National; it is not a political, but a spiritual Body, according to the saying of Christ himself, *My Kingdom is not of this world*. This division of State is the right hand of Antichrist, which hath built up and nourished the man of sin, from an infant to a perfect man: and hath in all ages persecuted the people of God, and been the cause of most of the blood that hath been shed in the world. For whatever Reformation or change happeneth, either in *Church or State*, the *Clergy* can soon transform themselves into that shape, joyn Issue with the present power, and under pretence of error and heresie, binde men to believe their arbitrary Diſtates, Traditions, Errors and blasphemies, or persecute them to the death.

Therefore, O Parliament of *England* (whom the good people are pleased at present to own as the Supreme Authority, and will do so, provided you own them, and do their wills, and fulfil their intents) beware you suffer not the Ecclesiastick power to twist it self with yours; but on the contrary, to prevent making of parties and factions upon a religious accompt, and all broils and jars in the Nation) declare to the Nation that you have nothing to do in matters of Religion: as you are the civil Authority, labour to make good Laws for the punishing of sin and vice, and keeping all men civil, peaceable and quiet; and let *Christ* alone with his *Church*, whose work it is, not yours.

2. Secondly, that which hitherto hath smothered our declared-for Free-State, in the very birth, was want of care (upon the alteration of Government) to hinder the passage of Tyranny out of one form into another: the affairs of past ages and nations, and not onely so, but the late actions in this Commonwealth, do fully demonstrate that the interest of Monarchy and its inconveniencies have been fatal to other forms, and are undeniable proofs that they may reside in the hands of many, as well as in a single person. We might here, for illustration sake, produce the case of *Athens*,
after

after they had laid aside their King, the Kingly and Tyrannical power sprang up among their Decemal Governors, and their Thirty, whom the people commonly called *Tyrants*; and not onely so, but crept among the popular form, who were elected by the Commonalty, for want of a strict watch over them, to prevent their acting more for their own then the peoples interest. Not much unlike this, was the State of *Florence*: the Kingly interest sprang up alwayes in one upstart or other, in advancing his ambitious ends, stept up into a Kingly posture, and robbed the people of their right. Even so fared *Rome* with the *Tarquins*, Consuls, Senates, Decemviri, Triumviri, Dictators and Tribunes, all whom acted the flagitious enormities of an absolute Monarchy.

Setting aside all forreign examples, good people of *England* look at home, and O Parliament of *England*, behold your own body: have not you cut off *Charles*, and let the King live to this day? Consider what is the interest of Monarchy, but an unlimited, uncontrollable, unaccountable station of Power and Authority, in the hands of a single Person, or Many, who govern according to the Dictates of their own will and pleasure. If GOD hath so much mercy for you, that you now at last prove our Redeemers, and Restorers of our Liberties, declare for it in a due and orderly succession of Authority in our Supreme Assemblies; that Ages to come may have a reverent and noble respect of you, as the Founders of our Free-State and Commonwealth.

Thirdly, and since (to the grief of honest hearts) there are many discontented humours in the Nation, who endeavour to insinuate themselves into the Body of the Nation, to undermine the security of the Commonwealth; to gain a share in the government, to bring about their corrupt ends, great care ought to be had of the composure and complexion of our Representatives. And that you may be careful herein, pray shut the door; and not onely so, but stop every crack and cranny, to keep out the old and new Malignant out of Authority: you must be cautious not onely in excluding the wilde Geese, but the tame; not onely the old, but the new Malignant

(5)

nant, being full as dangerous as the other : There is another tame beast yet, more dangerous then the other two, viz. the Neutral *Laodicean*, who can live in any Element, sail with any wind, close with the Malignants or any for his own advantage, transform himself into an Angel of light, to bring about his deeds of darkness : Let not such be named in Elections : And good people, be not threatned by some, or deluded by others to sell your Birth-right for a Mess of Pottage. And as you ought to be careful of the persons to be elected, so you ought to be as careful of the Persons electing, who ought to be such as have made contribution of their purses, strength and counsels, to manage the Cause for the Liberty and Freedom of the People : for in this case those onely ought to be reckoned the people ; the rest having by a traiterous engagement, compli-ance, neutrality, or apostacy, endeavoured to destroy the people, and by consequence have forfeited their Rights and Membership of free people ; are no longer to be called Patriots, but Parties in Faction, having acted against the declared Interest of the Commonwealth.

4. Fourthly, the permitting of the Legislative and Executive power to rest in the same hands and persons, is a means suddenly to overthrow a Commonwealth. Reason clears it : for if the supreme power, the Law-makers, be also the Administrators and Dispensers of Justice, the people would be lost without Remedy, in case injustice be measured unto them : for what appeal have we under heaven, against those that have the Supremacy ? For true policie alwayes presupposeth the worst, that governors may be unrighteous ; and therefore in all determinations, points at the enormities and remedies of government.

If I could insist upon Examples, the state of most Kingdoms and Commonwealths in the world would evidence the truth of what I here assert ; but passing by all, I come to our own State, and the affairs thereof, which are fresh in every mans memory. The late King, who was and ought to have been no more but an Officer in trust, to see to the execution

cution of the Laws, strained (by the ruine of Parliaments) to get the Legislative power, as well as the Execurive, into his own hands : and whilst he strived for this absolute Tyranny, he pulled a swift destruction upon Himself and his Family. *Oliver Cromwel*, for his time, was a rare Proficient in such projects, and for the same (instead of a blessed memorie, which might have been celebrated for his valiant and bold achievements) he hath left but a stinking savour behinde him, in the nostrils of all honest men.

O Parliament of *England*, have you been free from this enormity, in the time of your government ? Labour to be faithful Patriots to your Country now, and lay a foundation upon which the building may stand firm and sure.

5. Fifthly, There is another rank weed, that grows fast, and is apt to choak a Free-State, whilst it is young and tender; and it is called *Reason of State*; by *Reason of State* here, I do not mean the equitable Results of Prudence and right Reason, for upon these ought their Determinations to be founded, and is the safety of States and Princes : by *Reason of State*, I mean that which flows from a corrupt Principle to an indirect End, which is the States-mans will and lust, when he hath admitted ambition, preferment, profit, revenge, &c. to be his reason. It is a sovereign Commander, an important Counsellor; it answers all objections and quarrels; it makes War and Peace, raiseth Taxes, cuts off and pardons Offenders, treats Embassadors; It can say and unsay, do and undo, make by-ways high-ways, and what not? Many mighty Things it hath done in all ages. It was *Reason of State* that made *Pharaoh* keep the Israelites in bondage, contrary to the commands of GOD: It was that made *Saul* spare *Agag*, and endeavor the ruine of *David*: It made *Jereboam* set up his Calves in *Dan* and *Bethel*: It made *Ahitophel* give counsel to *Abshalom* to defile his Fathers Concubines: It made *Abner* take part with the house of *Saul*: And it caused *Jonathas* afterwards to kill him: It made *Jehu* to mingle his own interest with the commands of GOD: It made the Jews cry out, *Crucifixe*, and *Pilate* to pass sentence: It made *Richard* the
Third

Third murder his Nephew : It was it that made *Henry* the Eighth persecute the Protestants ; and shifting his Religion, fell as heavy upon the Papists : It made his Daughter *Mary* fill up the cup of her Fathers iniquities : It brought a Scotch Coward to be our King : It made his Son, the late King, endeavour, by a bloody war, to ruine Religion and Liberty : And O Parliament of *England*, it was *Reason of State* that made you imprison many of the free people for demanding their Rights : It made you falsifie your Trust, and keep the Liberties of *England* to yourselves : It made *Oliver Cromwel* aspire to the Top of Supremacy : It made him leave his power to a Goose, instead of a Fox or a Lyon : It was *Reason of State* that made the Grandees of the Army bring you again to the Helm ; and if you do not now sweep it out of your House, and take in the Rule of Honesty, it will unavoidably bring Ruine upon you, as it hath done upon the aforementioned Tyrants.

6. Sixthly, Breach of Vows and Promises, a violation of Faith, Principles and Engagements, upon every turn of time and advantage, is a great error among Politicians, an Enemy to a Free State, and an Impiety that ought to be exploded out of all Nations, especially such as bear the name of *Christians*. The people that discern but little, magnifie it for admirable policie ; and the Impostors that use it, for the onely Politicians. This is the old Court-Gospel, which hath gained many Profelytes, That a Prince cannot, nor ought not to keep his faith given, when the observance thereof turns to disadvantage, and the occasions that made him promise are past. Surely then the interest of the people should lead them never to trust Princes, nor Engagements and Promises made of Men in power, but ever to reserve a power to themselves, either to reject them, or to make them perform their promises, whether they will or no. And if Princes or men in Authority do sometimes resemble the Lion, and sometimes the Fox, let the free people observe them in both disguises, and keep a power to themselves, to cage the Lion, and to un-kennel the Fox.

I might here bring plenty of instances, both forreign and domestick, wherein might appear the benefit to a Commonwealth, which hath accrewed by a strict observance of Vows and Promises, and what sad effects the contrary hath produced; but for want of Paper, I wave them, and put you in minde, O Parliament of *England*, that your apparent violation of your Engagements and Promises, had like to have smothered our Free State, in its infancy, and hurried you, and the *Good Old Cause*, to *Utopia*. I know you can frame excuses, and I could give you *Machiavels* reasons for it; but I question not, but most of you have read them, as well as I.

Seventhly, and lastly, the peoples ignorance what their Liberty is, how to obtain it, and how to preserve it, is an error in true policy, and an enemy to a free State: by this means have the Grandees of the world, & the Clergy (holding their old Maxime, That *Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion*) kept the people in ignorance, and shared the government of the world between them. Therefore let the Parliament of *England* now let the people know what their power is, and let them lay the principles of a Free State before the People. Let Children be trained up and tutored in the Principles of Enmity and dislike against Kingly government, and all enter into an oath of abjuration (as the *Hollanders* do) against Kingly government for ever. Let the people know that it is inconsistent to a Free State for particular persons to grandize or greaten themselves more then ordinary; for that breeds in them an aspiring to Kingship: thus had the State of *Holland* like to have lost their Liberty, by the greatness of the *Orange* Family: And this Parliament hath cause to remember their old General. Let them not commit the continuation of power in any one Family, because it gives them an opportunity to bring in their particular interest in competition with the peoples. Let the peoples Majesty & Authority of their Votes in their Supreme Assemblies be kept inviolable. Let the Arms and Militia be placed in the hands of such men who were alwayes firm to the interest of the peoples

ples Liberty, and let them be trained and made perfect in the use of them. And principally, let it be an unpardonable crime to incur the guilt of Treason against the Interest & Majesty of the People. First, let it be Treason unpardonable to endeavor to bring in the Kingly power: For this cause *Brutus*, the Founder of the Roman Liberty, caused his own sons to be put to death, for conspiring to bring back the *Tarquins* to the Kingdom. Secondly, the Romans held it an unpardonable crime for a Senator to divulge the secrets of the Senate. Thirdly, in the Venetian State it was held Treason for any Senator or Officer to receive any gifts or pensions from any foreign Prince or State upon any pretence whatsoever; or to have any private conference with any foreign Embassador.

The people being thus restored to their just Rights and Liberties, and placed in the Majesty of government, let them observe these brief Rules following.

First, That in a Free State it is above all things necessary to avoid dissention, and not to use the uttermost remedy upon every slight distemper and default of those with whom they have entrusted their Liberties, lest the cure prove worse then the disease: For the enormity of tumult, dissention and sedition, hath been the main objection of Tyrants and their Creatures, against the peoples government. Therefore let the people be moderate and discreet in their behaviour, and give a due reverence to those whom they have elected for their Superiors.

Secondly, That their guardianship of Liberty may be safely placed, Let them be careful, in their Elections, to have an eye upon the publick, and chuse such as have appeared most eminent and active in the Establishment of Love and Freedom.

Thirdly, Be not led by faction, affection, or alliance, to chuse any, but meerly upon the account of Merit; this will ingage your very foes, when they see men put into Authority that have a clear Reputation of transcendent Honour and Wisdom.

Lastly,

Lastly, As you ought to have power to call your Representatives and all Officers to an account when you please, so be careful to avoid false charges, accusations and calumniations against persons in Authority; which are great abuses and blemishes to Liberty. And whatever you do, beware of Ingratitude to those who have done handsome things for the Commonwealth: Nor put no trust in the hands of any person or persons, farther then you can take it back again at pleasure. Without a due observance of these or such-like cautions, our Liberty will turn to Licentiousness, which as 'tis a Tyranny in it self, so in the end it will occasion the corruption and conversion of a Free State, into Monarchical Tyranny.

FINIS.